



# The Classical Bulletin

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## Teaching the *Gallic War* as Caesar Wrote It

Today the Gaul of Caesar's time is the home of culture, literature, art, and fashion; but the *Gallic War* is still being waged—in almost every second-high classroom. Caesar is still unconquerable—in the pupil's mind and linguistically speaking. The modern student finds the *Gallic War* distasteful mainly because Caesar's indirect discourse is difficult of mastery. Moreover, some teachers (perhaps from premature despair), instead of bravely tackling his indirect discourse, water it down and change it to the direct, with the result that their students, on entering third high, are insufficiently prepared to begin work on Cicero. Alas for the phantom path of least resistance in Latin! It leads—nowhere.

I grant that indirect discourse is difficult, and that it must be learned slowly and only partially in second year if it is to be got well. But, granted this, the remaining difficulties are not insuperable, and I should like to show in this paper that they can be lessened very materially, provided we teach our students to read the *Gallic War* as Caesar composed it. I propose no magic formula; all I wish to do is to call in the aid of colometry, or the use of the colometric style of writing, which has so frequently been advocated in these pages.

Wherein, precisely, do the advantages of colometry lie? The chief advantage is that it presents the text, not in a solid block, as our printed pages do, but thought-unit by thought-unit. This is the way the Latin author built up his sentences, and the way, too, we ought to read them if we are to read intelligently. The human mind works with thought-groups rather than with one single idea at a time; with word-groups, not with single words. The Latin author had, of course, his sentence fully shaped in his mind before he wrote down the first clause or part of it; but for us, when we read his sentences, the reverse process must hold. For him the whole existed before the part; for us the part comes before the whole. What colometry helps us to accomplish is the putting together of those separate parts in which the Latin writer chose to express his mind after he had clearly conceived his thought as a whole. These parts appear in the colometrized text as they took shape in the mind of the writer, each in its proper place, each with a sort of completeness of its own.

Hence, if we are to read Latin as Latin, we must learn to handle large ideas or thought-units. The student cannot do this from the outset. But we suppose him for the moment to be in the second semester of second high, and so, having mastered the necessary vocabulary and the system of Latin inflexion, he can

safely be called upon to think in word-groups, rather than in single words. Colometry offers its help to the student in this endeavor inasmuch as it presents to him each word-group *on a separate line*. Face to face with such a parcelled text, he will soon realize that he need not look for the subject first, then for the verb, and finally for the object of the sentence he is trying to read. The sense will come where the Latin author put it: incomplete sense at the end of each separate line, complete sense at the end of the whole. Before complete sense is reached, the student is understanding the sentence as the Romans understood it, when they read it or heard it read—thought-unit by thought-unit. That, after all, is the logical way for us to understand it.

A second advantage connected with colometry is the fact that it allows us to *visualize* each thought-unit by itself as it appears on the scene. It prevents the confusion apt to arise when the student of a new language faces blocks of pages made up of lines filled to capacity. Furthermore, since colometry invites the use of indentation, the dependent and independent portions of the sentence can be made to stand out conspicuously, and be taken in separately and at a glance. When a sentence is particularly involved, teachers may take the independent portion first, so that sense is established and a clue supplied for fitting in the rest. When a text is properly colometrized, the student can possess himself of this advantage merely by *looking* at the page before him.

It were far best, of course, if our students could be presented with a ready-made colometrization of the text which they are to read. In default of this, however, there is nothing left for the student but to do his own colometrizing. Nor is it difficult to master colometry—insofar as it needs to be mastered for the practical purposes of high school. While one student works at the blackboard under the direct supervision of the teacher, the rest of the class may try their ingenuity on the same passage at their desks.

Of course, different students will arrive at different results, which does not necessarily mean that any one of them is very wide of the mark. In this matter of colometrizing, a certain latitude must be allowed; for, to speak quite accurately, an absolutely valid rule for distinguishing the larger from the smaller portions of an ancient sentence (called *cola* and *commata* respectively) has not yet been discovered. But this element of uncertainty has no influence on the use of colometry in the classroom. When different members of the class arrange their lines differently, that will be a welcome

occasion for discussing the differences, and criticizing the work done at the blackboard. And, let it be noted, while this is being done, the students' minds are constantly riveted on the *Latin* text, and they cannot help really reading *Latin as Latin*.

How, then, is the student to know just what or how many words of the Latin text must be taken together in order to make sense and receive a separate line? There is the rub, I know; but just as swimming is learnt by plunging into the water and trying, so colometry is learnt by going *in medias res* and trying. It is the purpose of this paper to furnish a few practical rules with the aid of which Caesar's narrative, and even passages containing his favorite indirect discourse, can be "conquered."

Ancient rhetoricians, that is, the teachers of Greek and Latin literature, made use of colometry in the classroom. St. Jerome tells us that in his time colometry was familiar to everybody from its use in the poetical books of the Old Testament, and from the editions, prepared by the rhetoricians, of the writings of Cicero and Demosthenes. What is lacking in the ancient treatises on rhetoric is explicit instruction on the format employed in editing texts colometrically. Presumably writers differed in their arrangements as writers differ today. Several factors had to be taken into account in determining the length of individual sense-lines: rhythm, syntax, even emotion.

According to Aristotle, rhythm, that is, the more or less regular flow of long and short syllables, was of the essence of a standard period, so much so that a trained rhetorician could tell merely from the rhythm of a passage how it was meant to be divided into longer or shorter portions. Then attention had to be paid to syntax, which means that words going together syntactically were, as a rule, meant to go together colometrically. Finally even the emotion of the speaker or writer could be expressed by the colometric style of writing, as we know from St. Augustine. Here, however, I leave aside both rhythm and emotion because of the element of uncertainty that is necessarily in them. For the student who wishes to read his Caesar colometrically, it is sufficient to divide his sentences into sense-lines, that is, to take Caesar's simple syntax for his sole guide in dividing, and attend merely to the relative completeness of successive ideas as expressed by Caesar.

The ancient technical term for what I here call sense-line is *colon* (lit. branch, limb, part; plural, *cola*). Sense-lines were called *cola* because they are the *parts* of which the period or sentence is made up, just as a tree is made up of branches, or a body of limbs. If a colon proves too unmanageable because it exceeds the ordinary man's power of uttering it conveniently in one breath, it should be divided into two or even three smaller divisions, each of which is technically called a *comma*, that is, something *cut off*, a chip, as it were. It appears, then, that a typical ancient colon was not merely a sense-line, but also a rhythmical, and even a phonetic, unit. But, as was said above, for our present pur-

pose it is sufficient that each fresh line in our arrangement "makes sense."

The student will no doubt observe that the punctuation in his edition of Caesar should be of great help to him in his first attempt at colometrization. Gradually he will by this very process of attending closely to syntactical constructions acquire a "feeling" for correct division. Once this has been developed to a high degree, the purpose of colometrization has been achieved, and the student will be able to read sentences colometrically at sight, even when they are printed in block style, just as a trained musician plays music at sight.

The principal feature of the subjoined two passages from the *Bellum Gallicum*, presented in sense-lines, is the use of indentation to indicate subordination. In order to follow these examples, the student may learn the following simple rules.

1. Independent portions of a sentence are not indented. Include here: participial clauses, as being direct modifiers; also substantive clauses and accusative-with-infinitive constructions, as being the subject or object of a verb, i. e., integral parts of a principal clause. If any of these clauses appears in a dependent clause, it takes its alignment with the governing clause.

*Belgae ab extremis Galliae finibus oriuntur;  
pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni;  
spectant in septentrionem et orientem solem.* I, 1.

*Hac oratione adducti,  
inter se fidem et jus iurandum dant.* I, 3.

*Ad eas res conficiendas  
biennium sibi satis esse duxerunt.* I, 3.

2. Dependent portions of a sentence are indented; e. g., temporal, causal, adversative, conditional, and relative clauses. Frequently a relative clause will be too weak for a separate sense-line. If one of these clauses is dependent on another dependent clause, it is indented from the governing clause.

*Haedui cum se suaque ab eis defendere non possent,  
legatos ad Caesarem mittunt rogatum auxilium.* I, 11.

3. The ablative absolute and appositional or parenthetical clauses and phrases receive indentation whenever they are of sufficient weight to deserve a separate sense-line.

*His rebus cognitis,  
Caesar Gallorum animos verbis confirmavit  
pollicitusque est  
sibi eam rem curae futuram.* I, 33.

*Pro his Divitiacus  
(nam post discessum Belgarum,  
dimissis Haeduarum copiis,  
ad eum revertebat)  
facit verba.* II, 14.

4. Occasionally an introductory particle, or some other single word or short phrase, will be separated from the independent part of the sentence by a clause. Since it is too weak to form a separate sense-line, it should be placed on the line occupied by the clause, but not be indented.

*Eo, ut erat dictum,  
ad colloquium venerunt.* I, 43.

If I have said above that at times certain parts of a sentence may be "too weak to form a sense-line," I said so because the ancient rhetoricians demanded that a sense-line should not only make sense, but also be more or less of a certain length to deserve to be brought out so prominently. The ancients were guided by a sure instinct for beauty, and, as Aristotle says expressly, beauty requires not only proportion but also a certain magnitude. Very small things may be "pretty"; they are not beautiful. A sense-line of respectable length would be, according to some rhetoricians, an ordinary hexameter, that is, a clause consisting of sixteen or seventeen syllables. Anything less than eight or nine syllables was called a comma, rather than a colon. In the classroom, the term "sense-line" will cover both the colon and the comma.

Of the subjoined longer selections, the first represents straight narrative; the second contains much indirect discourse.

*Bellum Gallicum*, I, 15:

Postero die, castra ex eo loco movent.

Idem facit Caesar

equitatumque omnem, ad numerum quattuor milium,  
quem ex omni provincia  
et Haeduis atque eorum sociis coactum habebat,  
praemittit, qui videant  
quas in partes hostes iter faciant.

Qui cupidius novissimum agmen insecuti,  
alieno loco cum equitatu Helvetiorum proelium committunt,  
et pauci de nostris cadunt.

Quo proelio sublatis, Helvetii,  
quod quingentis equitibus  
tantam multitudinem equitum propulerant,  
audacius subsistere nonnumquam  
et novissimo agmine proelio nostros lacescere coeperunt.

Caesar suos a proelio continebat,  
ac satis habebat in praesentia  
hostem rapinis, pabulationibus populationibusque prohibere.

Ita dies circiter quindecim iter fecerunt,  
uti inter novissimum hostium agmen et nostrum primum  
non amplius quinque aut senis milibus passuum interesset.

*Bellum Gallicum*, I, 14:

His Caesar ita respondit:

Eo sibi minus dubitationis dari,  
quod eas res, quas legati Helvetii commemorassent,  
memoria teneret,  
atque eo gravius ferre,  
quo minus merito populi Romani accidissent;  
qui si alicujus injuriae sibi conscius fuisset,  
non fuisse difficile cavere;  
sed eo deceptum,  
quod neque commissum a se intellexeret quare timeret,  
neque sine causa timendum putaret.

Quod si veteris contumeliae oblivisci vellet,  
num etiam recentium injuriarum,  
quod, eo invito, iter per provinciam per vim temptassent,  
quod Haeduos, quod Ambarros, quod Allobroges vexassent,  
memoriam deponere posset?

Quod sua victoria tam insolenter gloriarentur,  
quodque tam diu se impune injurias tulisse admirarentur,  
eodem pertinere.

Consuesse enim deos immortales,  
quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant,  
quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci velint,  
his secundiore interdu res  
et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere.

Cum ea ita sint,  
tamen, si obsides ab eis sibi dentur,  
uti ea quae polliceantur facturos intellegat,  
et si Haeduis de injuriis  
quas ipsis sociisque eorum intulerint,  
item si Allobrogibus satisfaciant,  
sese cum eis pacem esse facturum.

Divico respondit:

Ita Helvetios a majoribus suis institutos esse,  
uti obsides accipere, non dare, consuerint;  
ejus rei populum Romanum esse testem.

Hoc responso dato,  
discessit.

In connection with this paper the following articles may be recommended as very useful supplementary reading: *Reading Latin*, a pamphlet by Hugh P. O'Neill, S. J., Loyola University Press, Chicago; and "Learning to Read in the Latin Order," by Mignonette Spilman, *Classical Journal*, February, 1929, pp. 323-337. If any of our readers decide to try colometry in the classroom, we should thank them for a word about its successful use, or for criticism of the method, or for queries which they may wish to propose regarding points that seem to them obscure and may need elucidation. Some teachers that have actually used colometry with their classes have reported that with this method they were able to cover twice as much ground as before, and with better understanding of the Latin on the part of their pupils.\*

St. Louis, Mo.

GILBERT C. PETERSON, S. J.

Is it possible, Gentlemen, that you can have read one, two, or three, or more of the acknowledged masterpieces of literature without having it borne in on you that they are great because they are alive, and traffic not with cold celestial certainties, but with men's hopes, aspirations, doubts, loves, hates, breakings of the heart; the glory and vanity of human endeavour, the transience of beauty . . . ; all that amuses or vexes, all that gladdens, saddens, maddens us men and women on this brief and mutable trajectory which yet must be home for a while, the anchorage of our hearts?—*Quiller-Couch*

The spirit of Hellas cannot be caught at second hand: it consists in just those subtler elements of refined taste and perfect choice of expression which cannot but be lost in a translation or a photograph.—*Kenneth J. Freeman*

The inmost psychology of a nation must be revealed by genius, or not at all. It is not what Suetonius said of Rome that enlightens us, but what Horace and Virgil said.—*"Imaal"*

\*See CLASSICAL BULLETIN, May, 1932, pp. 63-64, "A Valuable Aid to Teaching Latin in the High School."



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## Editorial

In his inimitable, humorous way Charles Lamb once wrote: "When a new book is published, I reread an old one." When we grow wise, we shall seek in the grand old books to know the steady light that shines behind the passing show of shadows. In them we shall find the peace that passeth the understanding of the new poets, the deep humanity that escapes the new biography. To them, as to a retreat, we shall fly from the flux of modernity, knowing that we cannot find out where we are by scanning the waves and foam that swirl immediately about our keel, but that we must look at the ancient headlands and the stars shining immutable from afar. The classicist knows that Homer and Virgil, Plato and Sophocles, "and those others" have taken an everlasting place among the grand old books, and therefore he tries to give the opening mind of youth a glimpse of these books, small in size but broad in compass of understanding, rather than of the writers of straw, the sophists of modern journalism. For with the grand old masters it is friendship till death, and their quiet wisdom becomes a consolation and a guide through the dark ways of life.

At Washington, D. C., on May 4, 1932, there passed away in the person of Mr. Peter J. McGowan, S. J., a scholar and teacher of no ordinary talent and ability. Mr. McGowan had spent some years at Oxford in the pursuit of higher classical studies, and had just returned to this country to take up his duties as professor of classical languages at Georgetown, when his untimely

death occurred. More than once, while at Oxford, he won prizes in Latin and Greek, among them the Gaisford Prize for Greek Prose in 1930. Our readers may recall that Mr. McGowan contributed to the April and May issues of the BULLETIN for 1929 two articles on the Roman archaeology of Southern Spain.

To Georgetown University and to the Maryland-New York Province of the Society of Jesus we offer our sympathy in the great loss they have sustained in the death of Mr. McGowan. The young Jesuit scholastics who are pursuing their classical studies in the Juniorate at Wernersville, Pennsylvania, where Mr. McGowan lies buried, will find in his memory inspiration for their future work. From the *Georgetown College Journal* for November, 1932, we quote the following beautiful lines of tribute: "Profoundly familiar with the beauties of the ancient literatures, resourceful for illustration with recollections of his travels abroad, commanding a power of expression which matched facility with artistry, Mr. McGowan shed an aureole about these talents of a teacher by his further characteristics of frankness and simplicity, humor and kindness, understanding and rare courtesy . . . deepened and sanctified in him by the spirituality of his priestly vocation." R. I. P.

If we take notice here of two papers in this issue of the BULLETIN, it is because the authors wish us to say that they would like to receive criticism or suggestions from our readers. The rendering of *pius Aeneas* will remain a perennial problem; but, whatever may be thought of the author's final choice, most of our readers will agree that the current "good Aeneas," at least in American usage, has not enough of the sturdy, oaken quality of genuine epic diction. Another paper calling for notice is that which advocates the use of colometry in the classroom. Colometry is not here proposed as a panacea for all the ills to which our high school Latin teaching is heir; and yet, it seems hardly possible that any student should learn to read Latin as Latin should be read (or, in the somewhat mysterious phrase, "to read Latin as Latin"), unless he understands the way in which ancient writers built up their sentences, that is, unless he understands colometry. Here we are at the very core of the structure of Latin and, we may perhaps add, at the core of some of the failures observable in the teaching of Latin. Quintilian (IX, iv, 9), a very sensible schoolmaster, holds that "artistic structure gives force and direction to our thoughts, just as the throwing-thong and the bowstring do to the spear and the arrow." He goes on to say that "for this reason all the best scholars are convinced that the study of structure is of the utmost value, not merely for charming the ear, but for stirring the soul." There is much educational wisdom in his epigram: "Nothing can penetrate to the heart that stumbles at the portals of the ear."

Not only does the stately structure of the Ciceronian period crumble into dust in the Latin of the silver age, but the meaning of words is perverted.—*Nettleship*

## Sicily, Ill-starred Child of Ocean

Sicily is the sea. The ancient theatres look out upon it; the ancient temples cluster round it; all the isle is enchanted by its mystery, for out of that sea have come myth and poetry, wealth and beauty untold. Odysseus came from it out of the fairy-land of morning, and Aeneas came bearing the sacred relics of Troy. Out of the sea came Sappho with her loveliness and Lesbian graces; came Aeschylus, Pindar, Simonides, and all the poetry and art of Attica. Such were the gifts that the stream of Ocean carried to the isle Ausonian, gifts of the Loves and of the Muses, gifts the finest that the City of the Violet Crown had to bestow, gifts full of promise, heralding a golden day-dream for the Hellas of the western seas. That, it might seem, were bounty enough; but the sea had yet another gift for Sicily, the gift of its own beauty. It girdled round with its waters the mountains and low-lying plains, making of the place in very truth such an island as Sappho might love in her exile from Lesbos, an island where Simonides might linger in the mellowed calm of his aging years, a retreat that the Muses would haunt and the Loves dwell in. All the gifts of Pieria had been carried by the stream of Ocean into the West, had been set down to flourish in a place of purple hills and green meadows, an island place apart. What wonder if the ancient world looked to Sicily for a new birth of artistic life, a new springtime of the beautiful.

For a time it seemed as if Sicily were really destined to be the day-star of a new glory. All the arts flowered under the aegis of Syracuse; Selinus, far to the west, was already renowned for her coinage and terracottas; Pindar had long since written of Agrigentum as "loveliest of the towns of mortals." The poetry left by Stesichorus had in it inspiration enough for many a successor. Temples sprang up on every side. Vases of Attica were introduced and began to be copied, not now by Romans or by slaves, but by free-born sons of Hellas. Sicily had awakened to the eternal lure of the beautiful and was glad with the wonder of it.

But the splendor of the moment passed. A shadow as of night swept across the radiant promise of that sunrise. The ancients, perhaps, had said the gods were jealous; the real reason was not far to seek,

ἐξ ἡμέων γὰρ φασὶ κακ' ἔμμεναι. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπὲρ μόρον ᾧ γε ἔχουσιν.  
(Odys. I, 33, 34)

Mortals made of the sheltering hills divisions and cause for strife; of the sea they made a highway for triremes and men-at-arms. Selinus and Segesta quarreled over some trifling question of a boundary. Segesta sent across the sea to Athens. Then came war and the ill-omened expedition that Thucydides has immortalized and all the world has wept—

Who with Thucydides pursues the way,  
Feeling the heart-beats of the ages gone:  
Till fall the clouds upon the Attic day,  
And Syracuse draws tears for Marathon.  
(L. Johnson, *The Classics*, vv. 20-24)

Still, for Sicily all might yet have been well. Syracuse in the exultation of victory coined the exquisite didrachmas of Arethusa and Persephone. The time was ripe for the golden age so long awaited. But no,

ὑπὲρ μόρον ᾧ γε ἔχουσιν.

The petty quarrel broke out anew and the despairing Segestans invoked the power of Carthage. Carthage struck swiftly. Over the sea that had brought all good things came triremes and an army. Up to the shores of Selinus, there where the waters are most varicolored and enchanting, drove the Phoenician men of war. The evening of that dread day found Selinus a desert place, her people slain or sold into slavery, her seven temples sacked and in ruins, a pitiful sight till the sands of the sea should come and mercifully cover the remnants. It was but seven years after the destruction of the Athenian armada. The blight of the Orient, that had but threatened Greece, now fell upon Sicily. Segesta welcomed the invader, but lost her Grecian birthright. Agrigentum yielded; city after city fell, until, at the last, only Syracuse was left in solitary glory. Man had been given a heritage, the possession of the sea with its endless mystery and wonder, and he had used it to make of the isle of the Muses a desert place and a trading mart for the sons of Tyre and of Carthage.

Just how much all this meant to the flowering Grecian culture that had attracted to Sicily the artists of Attica we shall never know. As we contemplate the ruins of temple and theatre there on the shores, we can only conjecture what greater things might have followed. One cannot help wondering whether most of the remnants of Sicilian art that remain to us were not so many promises just on the point of fulfillment, when, for the first time in history, the armies of the East took possession of a western land. It is almost as though Persia had taken and held all Greece save only Athens, and the poetry and art of Lesbos and the islands had never been. Between the still archaic Apollo of Agrigentum and the Hellenistic Venus of Syracuse or the ram of Palermo there is an abysmal void. No Myron, Pheidias, Polyclitus, Lysippus even, to make the transition. Some works of moment there may have been. If so, Verres, with his celebrated flair for masterpieces, and his imitable technique in acquiring them, would have known well how to spirit them away! But what of the famous metopes of Selinus, still a bit archaic, still aspiring? Were these the best Sicilian artists had to offer? What, too, of the minor arts, so loved and cultivated by the Sicilian Greeks? No one can doubt but that the refined and delicate artistry of Sicilian craftsmen would, in less troubled times, have given to the world a wealth of those exquisite miniatures in precious stones, so unutterably Grecian and lovely. Nor were the early beginnings of vase-painting and terracottas ever brought to conclusion. Or, to be exact, they were brought to conclusion when, after an interval of years, all art had become Hellenistic. That interval was the time of internal strife in Sicily, culminating in the Athenian expedition and the coming of Carthage. Perhaps it is not fair to

blame all the woes on Carthage; the strife was always there among the Greeks themselves. Syracuse may even have connived at the destruction of the rest of Sicily.<sup>2</sup> But the grasping Carthaginian power blighted every remaining hope. The unfinished temples were to remain ever unfinished. The poems and vases and statues of the artists' dreams were to remain dreams forever. Syracuse, it is true, escaped and flourished, but the first fine spirit of artistic production slowly died away. The obvious explanation would be that here, as in Greece proper, the cycle of art had run its course and the Hellenistic period had begun. Yet, we may ask, is the explanation altogether fair? In Greece the failure of Athenian power merely hastened the decline of an art that had indeed reached its apex; Euripides himself is a reactionist. But in Sicily, we may believe, art had not yet run its course when Agrigentum and Selinus were destroyed and the world of Sicily was reduced to the one only city of Syracuse. The art which found place in Syracuse during the years of war with Carthage was most assuredly an art without vitality. But that war, it must be remembered, endured for generations from the fall of Agrigentum almost to the youth of Theocritus. A golden age is impossible without the blessings of peace. Moreover, the zest of rivalry had died when Syracuse was left alone and there was no longer the stimulating interchange of ideas without which art languishes. The coins of Selinus, for example, never attained to their full perfection to inspire who knows what wonderful things in the artists of the marvellous didrachmas. It is significant that in this peculiarly Sicilian art the decline set in precisely at the time of the Carthaginian conquest.

All this, surely, is not mere idle conjecture. But when we have pondered all these things, there is yet one other mystery, and it is the greatest of all, the mystery of Theocritus. "With a backward look even of five hundred courses of the sun the Idylls close the golden pomp which opened with the Iliad."<sup>3</sup> In Theocritus we have no Hellenistic feebleness, but the authentic note of a classic. One might think that he had taken it upon himself to make up to the world all that it had lost in that bare interval of conflict. Did he feel perhaps that the mimes and comedies were not worthy of Sicily and find his inspiration in contemplating the glory that was past recall? May this explain somewhat the wistfulness that runs through all his works? His poetry<sup>4</sup> "made Sicily into a golden world," but it was the gold of a sunset breaking through the clouds of a leaden day. Sicilian literature is a literature of a sunrise, faint and uncertain, but full of promise, and of a sunset, a marvel of golden splendor. But it had no noontide. In the century before Theocritus Syracuse, that had welcomed Sappho and Simonides, had no leisure for the songs of the Muses. There had been a time when she delighted in fashioning temples for the gods and a theatre for the immortal dramas of the poets, but now she busied herself with the erection of a fortress.<sup>5</sup> Agrigentum was no longer crowned with laurel and with glory to inspire the ideas of another, a Sicilian Pindar; there were no

Sicilian poets in the bustling Phoenician towns or in ruined Selinus. Else, perhaps, in the great unfinished temples of Zeus or Apollo another Aeschylus had one day been roused to sing of great deeds and justify the ways of God to men. Once again the Grecian world would have "hearkened to a new thunder as of the whole Atlantic";<sup>5</sup> once again "the harp-strings would have begun to cry out to the eagles"<sup>5</sup> and the marble-white theatre of Syracuse would have resounded to the peals of that new thunder and vibrated to the throbbing of the harp. Or, perchance, to *Palmosa Selinus* the good gift would have been given. Picture the calm beauty of her temples, the palm groves which remain to us only in the words of Virgil, the little river from which Selinus took her name, the never changing wonder and indescribable beauty of the sea: who shall say that even another Sophocles might not have come from such a place, to muse long and sweetly on the miracle of life, to sing of calm things that soothe the spirit and of deep things that touch the heart, and finally in his old age to remember once more his childhood, the temples and palm-groves and the majesty of the sea, and

Follow the Nereids' hundred feet  
In marvellous dance along the Ocean.

The history of Sicily is a theme ready made for an epic that is yet to be written. Odysseus came there and departed into the world of joy that was when Greece was young. Aeneas came there and departed into the world of triumph that was to be when all the world was Rome. But the epic of Sicily would be neither of joy nor of triumph. An epic of failure, it would sing with all the pathos of Virgil of things that never were, but only might have been. Yet it would be a song filled with all of Homer's sweetness, for in the little dawn that was given her Sicily was a world of light, and her sunset was the sunset of the Grecian world:

Sicilian seas and their Theocritus  
Pastoral singer of the last Greek song.  
(L. Johnson, *The Classics*, vv. 28-30)

Rome, Italy

WM. C. HETHERINGTON, S. J.

#### NOTES

1. Cf. Cicero *In Verrem*, V, 6.
2. Cf. Mommsen Bk. 3, Ch. I.
3. Mackail, *Lectures on Greek Poetry*—"Theocritus and the Idyl."
4. The Castle of Euryalus, most celebrated of Grecian fortifications. A considerable portion of it still exists in a fine state of preservation.
5. Mackail, *Lectures on Greek Poetry*—"The Age of Concentration: Simonides."

Whatever may be ultimately found practicable with reference to the study of the Latin and Greek tongues, the leading productions of Latin and Greek literature will have to be the groundwork of all education that is not content to omit literature altogether.—R. G. Moulton

Cicero taught Philosophy to speak Latin, and through Latin she learned to express herself in the modern languages.—J. S. Phillimore



**Good Aeneas or—What Else?**

In discussing Carlisle and Richardson's *Fourth Latin*, in the CLASSICAL BULLETIN for November, the reviewer refers to the rendering of *pious Aeneas*, and calls attention to a problem that has not as yet met with a definite and uniform solution. Every reader of the Aeneid feels that *pious*, in its persistent recurrence and its obvious motive, is a troublesome word to deal with.

It may be of interest to see how some translators of note have handled this epithet. Dryden (1698), apparently attentive to the demands of the English meter he had chosen, more than to the meaning Vergil was attaching to *pious*, renders the phrase variously; now "the good Aeneas," now "the Trojan hero," now "the pious hero," then again "the pious prince," "our grateful general," or "the chief," or, simplest of all, "Aeneas." William Morris (1876) employs a similar variety of renderings, possibly for a similar reason. E. Fairfax Taylor (1907; 1922) uses "Aeneas," "good Aeneas," "the pious prince." Conington, in his verse translation (1867; 1886), renders "Aeneas," "chief Aeneas," and "good Aeneas," while in his prose version (1902) he uses "good Aeneas," twice "Aeneas the good," and once "Aeneas styled the good." Mackail (1885; 1920) varies his usual "good Aeneas" twice with "Aeneas the good," and once with "Aeneas' goodness." This latter use of an abstract noun is rather remarkable. Two translators, Rhoades in his poetic version (1921; 1926), and Fairclough in his prose translation (1925), are faithful to Vergil's consistency and render "good Aeneas" wherever the Latin phrase occurs.

Every teacher of Latin and Greek that has consciously grappled with the problems incident to translation, knows how difficult, or even impossible it is at times to find an English word with exactly the same connotations as the word to be translated. Doubtless, the scholars named above would, if challenged, be more or less successful in defending their particular choice with good reasons. The etymology of *pious* is not entirely cleared up. The latest edition of *Heinichen's Wörterbuch* (1932), a very careful piece of work, assigns "devoted, beholden" ("ergeben; verpflichtet") as the root meaning of *pious*. Leuman (1928) connects it, though doubtfully, with *pu-(rus)*, "pure; genuine; sterling." Stowasser (1923), besides the usual rendering "dutiful," gives such renderings as "kind, mild, gentle, tender, loving, affectionate," especially in phrases like "*pious in parentes; pious adversus sorores*." Tucker (1931) renders "dutiful, affectionate, kind, loyal," assuming the derivation to be from old Latin *pei-*, "to look to, tend, protect, have due regard for." Ernout and Meillet, the two distinguished French linguists (1931), explain *pious* as "possibly" meaning "*au coeur pur*," "pure of heart." But whatever the derivation of *pious* may be, actual usage (and Horace warns us that "*ius et norma loquendi*" rests with usage) determines, to all intents and purposes, the meaning of *pious* as one who acts according to duty, whether he owes a duty to God or man or parent or child or country or kin. And judged by that standard, it appears at once that some of the render-

ings employed by modern translators hardly express the meaning with accuracy. A *pious homo* is undoubtedly a "good man"; but "good" seems too weak and vague for Vergil's *pious*. To the American boy, "good Aeneas" smacks a bit too much of "goody-goody Aeneas." Our word "pious," in its modern sense, is practically confined to religious dutifulness. It, too, carries unpleasant connotations for the American pupil. As Mr. Richards remarks, "Aeneas is spoilt for schoolboys by their superficial translation of *pious Aeneas* into 'pious Aeneas.'" Mr. Richards does not, however, suggest a substitute.

When so many distinguished scholars are groping in the dark, it may be presumptuous even to seem to know better. And yet, I think, one thing ought to be clear: since Vergil's epithet is unchanging, why should our rendering change? It seems to me that, if we vary our rendering according to the context, we depart from Vergil's epic use of that epithet. Carlisle and Richardson, in the work noted above, say that *pious* with *Aeneas* means "good, dutiful, or reverent," and that in Aeneid 6, 9 the proper rendering is "reverent." It is true, Vergil's epithets differ in one essential from Homer's. Homer's ships are always "fleet," even when beached; Achilles is "fleet-footed," even when sitting in his hut. His earth is "bounteous," even when he means the battle-field. His epithets, in the language of rhetoric, are "conventional epithets, epithets employed as a constant accompaniment, a kind of trade-mark, of their nouns, without special reference to their fitness on any given occasion" (Genung). Vergil, on the contrary, chooses his epithets to fit person or thing as seen in the particular context. But, I am sure, it does not follow that therefore our rendering of such a word as *pious* should vary with the context, any more than Vergil's own use of the epithet varies. All we have to do to be faithful to the original is to see to it that the word we use is wide enough to embrace that variety of senses usually assigned to *pious*; for, that this general term has a particular meaning in a certain passage is due, not to the word as such, but to the context, and the context is as obvious in the rendering as in the original.

To round out this little note with something like a conclusion, I will venture to propose my own preferences. I do not think we should, in rendering *pious Aeneas*, resort to words like "dutiful" or "faithful." Of these two, I would give my vote to "faithful," as the nobler of the two, the fuller, I might say, the easier to pronounce, the more manageable in verse, the more poetic or, at least, the less prosy. "Faithful Aeneas" makes a splendid verse ending, a dactyl followed by a trochee. But my reason for rejecting it is that Vergil's *fidus Achates* has a prior right to it: "faithful Achaetes." With "dutiful" and "faithful" thus ruled out, all we have left is the alternative of using "sterling" or "loyal." The former suggests the derivation of *pious* from *pu-* in *purus*; hence "pure, genuine, sterling." No one will deny that Vergil's Aeneas, in his ultimate development, is a sterling character, the prototype of the genuine Roman, the man of standard value, the man of solid worth, who is what he seems to be. Aeneas is put

through a severe schooling, and tried by gods that oppose him, as well as by untoward circumstances; he knows the frowns much more than the smiles of fate; and while he is never a saint, yet eventually he does brook heaven's discipline, and comes out victorious. He proves his worth in the end. He is a worthy progenitor of the typical Roman—as Vergil saw him, as Augustus wanted him, as the empire needed him.

On the other hand, I think "loyal" is better. Not that either is perfect, because neither quite so readily suggests to us the round of qualities which Vergil wished to suggest to his Roman readers by the use of *pious*. Yet, as between the two, I prefer "loyal," though both words are easy to pronounce, owing to the melting character of the l's,—a matter to which the old Roman rhetoricians were not at all indifferent. But "loyal" emphasizes an important side of Aeneas's character: he was loyal in every respect; loyal to his father; loyal to his country; loyal to his friends, his gods, his kin. For myself, I think I should prefer "loyal" to all its rivals until something more satisfactory is found. As Homer, by the consistent use of his epithets, has immortalized his "crafty Odysseus" and his "fleet-footed Achilles," so I can think of Vergil as intending, by the consistent use of *pious Aeneas*, to immortalize once for all "loyal Aeneas"; for, as craft and swiftness were the Greek ideals of practical wisdom and physical strength, so in Vergil's mind loyalty—in the fulness of that round and noble term—was the Roman ideal of steadfastness in all the varied aspects of life. Just as *pious Aeneas* sums up Vergil's encomium of his hero, so *loyal Aeneas* may sum up for us moderns the quintessence of that encomium. Who will deny that in epitomizing a person's character in "loyal," we have said all that he can wish for? *Loyal Aeneas*: there is a soft yet manly ring in it; there is a harmony of sound and thought in it—worthy of the noblest Roman in Vergil's time. And what a fine lesson the phrase conveys to the modern man!

I must close this note with a hint stolen from an old orator: "This is what I wish to say; but if you think you have something better, then please don't be bashful, and say it"—in the next issue of the BULLETIN.

Florissant, Mo.

GEORGE E. GANSS, S. J.

Only let Aeneas be worne in the tablet of your memory, how he governeth himself in the ruine of his Country, in the preserving his old Father, and carrying away his religious ceremonies, in obeying the Gods commandement to leave Dido, . . . howe to strangers, howe to allies, how to enemies, howe to his owne; lastly, howe in his inward selfe, and howe in his outward government. And I thinke, in a minde not prejudiced with a prejudicating humor, he will be found in excellencie fruitfull.—*Sir Philip Sidney*

Ingenuity in defending the indefensible appears to me to have been the last infirmity of not a few scholarly minds.—*J. C. Lawson*

### De Ripio Vinkelio III

Nihilo minus Ripius Vinkelius unus ex illis hominibus perbeatis erat, qui, tardo cum sint ac lento ingenio praediti, animo pacato vitam agunt, sive panem sili-gineum (candidum) sive cibarium (atrum), uterunque minima vel cura vel labore haberi potest, comedunt, famem asse tolerare malunt quam denario subire laborem. Sibi ille quidem relictus, omne tempus aetatis plane beatus perdidisset; sed ei uxor segnitiam, incuriam, ruinam rei familiaris obiciens perpetuo aures obtundebat. Huius linguae nulla nec mane nec meridie nec vesperi erat requies, et quidquid ille vel dicebat vel agebat, flumen eloquentiae domesticae ciebat. Quibus obiurgationibus eodem semper modo respondebat, idque ex frequenti usu in consuetudinem ei cesserat: humeris contractis, concusso capite, oculis sublati—ne verbum quidem dicebat. Quae res cum novam clamoris uxorii procellam excitaret, ille, velis quasi contractis, domo (qui locus scilicet unus marito submisso et abiecto suus et proprius est) pedem libenter efferebat.

Solus Ripii fautor domesticus Lupus erat, canis eius, haud sane minus imbellis quam ipse dominus; eos enim domina Vinkelia segnitiae socios ducebat; atque etiam Lupum, utpote qui in causa esset, cur dominus a recto tramite tam saepe erraret, torvis aspiciebat oculis. Ille quidem in iis rebus omnibus, quae ad naturam canis generosi spectant, tam erat acer quam qui maxime; sed qui tandem animus perpetuos gravissimosque linguae muliebris terrores sustineat? Itaque Lupus, simul atque domum intraverat, animum abiciebat; et, cauda vel demissa vel inter crura contorta, dominam oculis limis aspiciebat, huc illuc furtim reptabat; et si quando illa aut scopas aut ligulam vel levissime agitabat, ganniens ianuam versus ruebat.

Vita coniugali praetereunte Ripii res omnes in dies evaserant peiores; acerbum scilicet ingenium progressu aetatis non mitescit; et ex omnibus telis acutis lingua mordax sola usu perpetuo etiam magis fit acuta. Diu ille quidem, quoties domo pellebatur, solacii quaerendi causa in coetum perpetuum sophorum, sophistarum, aliorum ex pago male feriatorum ventitabat, qui coetus circulos et sessiunculas habebat in scamno ante cauponam sito, quae rubicunda Georgii III Regis tabula erat insignita. Hic illi per longas inertesque horas aestivas de pervagatis pagi rumoribus languide sermocinantes, vel infinitas inanesque fabulas somnuculose narrantes, in umbra sessitare consueverant. Cuiusvis rei publicae summo moderatori operae profecto pretium fuerat, abstrusas illas ac reconditas disputationes audire, quas interdum instituebant, cum in veteres commentarios a viatore aliquo relictos inciderant. Quam graviter enim tunc aures praebant nuntiis, quos laboriosissime lecitabat Derrichius Bummelius, ludi magister, agilis idemque doctissimus pater familias, quem nulla sesquipedalia, quotquot in lexis insunt, verba terrebant. Quam vero sapienter de rebus publicis illi deliberabant aliquot mensibus post quam evenerant!

Omaha, Neb.

B. DA MILANO, S. J.



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J.